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ABSTRACT

The increase in world interest in bilingual/bicultural education is a result of decline of colonialism and political imperialism; the rise of new national states, minorities, and internationalism; and the democratization of education. Formerly, bilingual education was the privilege of the elite; now it is the expression of a demand for recognition by the speakers of dialects. In considering bilingual education around the world today, it is evident that there is a complex interaction between the school, the local authorities, the attitudes of the community, and the comparability of resources. The bilingual education situation in the world generally breaks down into those countries balancing between the need for development of a local language and the economic need for a world language, such as the Phillipines, Indonesia, Burma, Ceylon, Pakistan, and many of the African nations; those countries coping with the complex educational situation of many dialects and languages, such as China, Russia, India, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia; and those countries in which minority groups are attempting to establish school programs in their own languages, such as the British Isles and the United States. In other cases, bilingual education is the means of preserving the identities of constituent groups of approximately equal size and political power, such as in Switzerland and Belgium. (LG)

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This session has wisely been billed as one devoted to bicultural rather than to merely bilingual education, inferring, as it does, the primacy of culture over language. Indeed, biculturalism is more inclusive than bilingualism, if we realize that culture, as acquired behavior, includes the acquisition of language. Bilingual education, therefore, could actually be limited to the acquisition of the language arts or to the learning of school subjects from texts which are simply translations from another language; not so bicultural education.

In practice, however, this distinction is seldom made, and anyone interested in bicultural education would do well to go over some of the vast literature devoted to bilingualism¹.

Even in official government publications, it is assumed that bilingual education may include more than linguistic activities. As an example, let us simply supply a single quotation from the official United States *Manual for Project Applicants and Grantees* of the United States Bilingual Education Act.

"Bilingual education is the use of two languages, one of which is English, as mediums of instruction for the same pupil population in a well-organized program which encompasses part or all of the curriculum and includes the study of the history and culture associated with the mother tongue. A complete program develops and maintains the children's self-esteem and a legitimate pride in both cultures."

In the subsequent survey of bicultural education which I would now like to make, it will likewise be difficult to find the line of demarcation -- if indeed there is one -- between bilingualism and biculturalism, since the latter is an all-embracing continuum².

Between the two world wars, bilingual public education was associated with very few areas of the world -- notably in Wales and in the Union of South Africa³. In many countries, however, there were bilingual private missions and international schools which generally attracted little attention⁴.

Since the end of the Second World War, however, most countries have shown interest in bilingual education to such an extent that we could even speak of a bilingual education movement, greatly accelerated over the past decade by the phenomenal spread of mass communication far beyond national borders.

Why has there been such an increase of interest in bilingual or bicultural education? There were a number of interrelated causes. On the one hand, there was the decline of colonialism, of political imperialism, of authoritarianism and even of Western domination; on the other hand, there was an increase in the number of new national states, the rise of submerged minorities, the rise of internationalism and a world-wide democratization of education.

In the old days, bilingual education was the privilege of the elite. A family which could afford a foreign governess and foreign residence could succeed in making the children reasonably bilingual, if not bicultural. Other families went to the expense of sending their children to private schools where an important foreign language was the medium of instruction. Witness the number of French *lycées* and German *gymnasiums* which were set up throughout the world since the beginning of the century -- and even earlier⁵.

In an age which was dominated by the empires of Britain, of France and of Germany, millions of people throughout Asia, Africa and even Europe were not considered as having a language at all. Their speech was referred to as one of "the Indian dialects", an "African dialect" or a primitive dialect, as the case may be. Not having any political power, their speech could have no status -- certainly not the status of a language. Since even linguists cannot decide on the difference between these, a language has facetiously, but with some truth, been defined as a dialect with an army.

People whose speech was given the status of a dialect were understandably eager to send their children to schools where they would master such powerful languages as English, French, German, Spanish, or the language of other colonial powers.

With the decline of colonialism, however, and the rise of new national states, hundreds of former "dialects" became known as "languages" and some of them were given recognition and official status by new nations wishing to assert their linguistic independence⁶. In schooling, however, it became impossible to become totally independent of the colonial linguistic legacy. The only solution would have to be a degree of compromise which would result in some form of bilingual education.

The decline of language dominance abroad was not without its effect upon the status of languages at home. Linguistic minorities in countries with dominant international language also demanded recognition. The higher educational level of post-war immigrants who had themselves been schooled in their home language was a factor in convincing monolithic populations that such a thing was possible.

These and other factors contributed to the extension of bilingual education throughout the world. And it might be useful for us to take a look at what has really taken place in the different quarters of the globe.

In order to do this, I would like to invite you to follow me in an imaginary trip around the world, leaving San Antonio, for the Philippines and from there to Malaysia, India, China, the Soviet Union, Scandinavia, the British Isles, Western Europe, Central Europe, the Balkans, the Middle-East, North Africa, Tropical Africa, South Africa, Latin America, Canada and the United States.

Our first stop will be in Manila. Here a great deal of attention has been paid to the problems of bilingual education, since the Philippines is a multilingual country, with Tagalog as one of the important indigenous languages, and English and Spanish as superimposed colonial languages. Although we find that the major vernaculars have become the media of early primary education, they have been replaced by English in the third grade. This switch depends on some intensive teaching of English to facilitate the change from the vernacular, begun in the first grade. However, the national language, Tagalog, is taught as a subject throughout primary and secondary classes.

Unlike India or Malaya, the Philippines is encouraging the use of a world language as the general medium of instruction, while teaching a national language for more limited purposes. We find that coordinated programs of training and research related to both languages have been a considerable help in improving efficiency in teaching both. Yet an experimental switch at the Grade 3(--) level from the vernacular to English combined with the use of either language on alternate days may cost as much as a year's schooling⁷.

Going from the Philippines to Malaysia, we notice that there has been a long tradition of English-medium teaching in Malayan primary schools, in which many children of Malay, Chinese and Tamil origin learned English through intensive exposure to the language. But recent policy has encouraged the establishment of many more Malay-medium primary schools. Up to a few years ago, approximately two-thirds of secondary education was still given in English. Recently, however, Malay became the national and sole official language: there is need for development of materials to teach Malay as a second language in primary schools, as well as to teach English, by economical methods, where it is no longer used as a medium of instruction. This has been recognized by Malay authorities, and involves far-reaching developments in the Malay language itself as a vehicle to convey educational concepts (especially in written form), never before associated with the language. Quite apart from the needs of efficient English teaching, there is therefore both the problem of developing and modernizing a national language and

that of teaching it more extensively, both as a mother tongue and as a second language.

We shall stop only briefly in Indonesia, Burma, and Ceylon before going on to India. These three countries are all now seeking a balance between the need to establish national languages (sometimes having to provide for linguistic minorities as well) and the need for teaching a world language to assist national economic development. All are faced by shortages of teachers with a necessary command of languages or even with basic training in the language didactics of a single tongue.

It is in India, however, that we find the most interesting problems in the field of bilingual education -- probably the most complex in the whole world. With a primary school population of over five million, India has the problem not only of developing the national languages, but also of establishing fifteen regional languages as media of instruction at all stages of school and college. Because of this, the Indian pupil has at present to learn three languages under the current three language formula:

1. English.
2. Hindi or, in the case of those whose mother tongue is Hindi, another Indian language.
3. The language of his state which in most cases, but not all, is his mother tongue.

This raises immense problems. Different states introduce different languages at different levels: standardization of materials and techniques is not always possible for administrative, let alone linguistic reasons. Academic debate as to when it would be most profitable to start which language is regarded as a luxury the country can ill afford. The compelling facts are that for interstate communication and to meet the needs of trade, industry, science, commerce, and technology of a rapidly developing nation, at least two second languages must be acquired. Evidence at present suggests that the longer they are learned the higher is the pupil's proficiency. So both, or at least one of them, according to local factors, must be started in primary school⁸.

Because many Indian languages have classical sources with established literature, developing modern methods of teaching them for day-to-day communication creates special problems arising from academic conservatism. In spite of the need, very little work has as yet been possible in developing materials or training teachers to teach modern Indian languages as second languages. A few investigations are, however, reported in the compilation of spoken and understood vocabulary of pre-school and primary school children in

Hindi, Tamil, Gujarati, and a few other Indian languages. Work in the development of Hindi includes the preparation of texts for use by non-Hindi speakers, translation of literature to and from Hindi, radio lessons in Hindi, and the preparation of new technical vocabularies⁸.

The teaching of English is being aided by the production of graded and suitable orientated texts in several states, and through the wider use of audio-visual aids in mass-media, such as radio and in the introduction of urban television. Special institutes to re-train teachers and teacher trainers have been established in many states, since the older traditions of teaching English (based often on its former use as a medium) do not accord well with present needs⁸.

The language problems of Pakistan and Bangla Desh have been somewhat less complex. Pakistan has a declared national language policy and has accepted the task of establishing an Asian language as a national language for education as well as a means to develop national unity. At the same time, it wishes to extend or maintain the teaching of a world language, namely of English, as an essential auxiliary for technical and economical development.

Crossing over to China, we find that it is not the monolithic mass of unilingual Chinese speakers that many have imagined. To begin with, there is the problem of educating more than 35 million speakers of minority languages. And secondly, all these so-called Chinese dialects that we have been hearing about are, in many cases equivalent functionally to different languages, further removed than Spanish is from either Italian or Portuguese. Fortunately, there is the unifying force of a national, non-alphabetic script. But the problem of language standardization for purposes of education has been a constant and a high-level preoccupation⁹.

We now leave China for the Soviet Union, which is another of the great multilingual areas of the world. Here we have some 200 vernaculars about 70 of which are official languages in which bilingual education can be given. Bilingualism is characteristic of many people of the Soviet Union. It can be especially observed among the peoples of the Northern Caucasus, the Volga regions, Central Asia, the Baltic Republics, and the Soviet Far-East. On the basis of the constitution of the USSR, every nationality of the Soviet Union has opportunities to establish a broad network of national schools and other cultural and educational establishments, where work and study are conducted in the pupils' native language. Russian, however, has become the language of modern science and technology; at present, some 70 national languages are used in the bilingual schools. Each of these has its own publishing network for educational literature, fiction, and social and political literature. A good section of the population, however, representing more than a hundred different languages, may have to

learn two school languages, namely, the language of the Autonomous Republic and the language of the Soviet Union, namely Russian. Such instruction in the area language begins at the age of seven. For example, at that age, an Armenian child may have to learn Georgian, while the Georgian children start learning Russian.

In addition to this, there is, in the Soviet Union, another type of bilingual education which has to do with proficiency in foreign languages like English, German, French and Chinese. For this purpose, there are some 700 schools in which most instruction is given from the very beginning in one of the great international languages spoken outside Soviet Union.

Let us now proceed to Scandinavia where our first stop will be in Finland, which is an officially bilingual country even though Finnish is spoken by more than 92% of the population of 4½ million, and Swedish by only 7½%, and other minority languages by less than 2% of the population. Swedish is nevertheless an official medium of instruction in some of the schools. On the other hand, Sweden, which is not an officially bilingual country, has to cope with the education of a certain number of Finns and Lapps, with the additional complication of groups who speak an extreme dialect of Swedish. In Norway, however, the two minority language groups, Lapps and Finns, constitute a very small portion of the total population of 3½ million, some 21,000 speakers in all. Nevertheless, Norway has a serious language problem in determining the position of its two main dialects in education and in the national life. There is a whole literature on this highly controversial and emotional issue¹⁰.

From Scandinavia we leave for the British Isles where the main problems of bilingual education have to do with the maintenance of the old Celtic languages which were spoken throughout Great Britain long before the arrival of the Romans. Three of these languages are still alive today in the mountainous regions of Scotland, Wales and Ireland. Much research has been done on the education of the Celtic speaking minorities of the British Isles even that of the remotest Highlanders¹¹. In Ireland, where only one person in fifty speaks Gaelic at home, there is a strong national language policy for the restoration of Irish as a national language through an intense movement for bilingual education. All the national schools teach subjects in Irish, in addition to teaching Irish as a subject. An evaluation of the results suggests that the implementation of Ireland's official policy of bilingualism is costing the country the equivalent of two years of schooling¹².

It is in Wales, however, that we find the greatest variety of bilingual programs and the greatest number of studies in bilingual education. Here the Celtic language is used much more than in any part of the Celtic speaking world. I spent a couple of months in North Wales, some years ago, and heard the language spoken daily

on the streets and in the shops. Since the language is suffering the incursions of the contacts with English, there has been an active policy to maintain it in the schools by teaching a number of subjects in Welsh. In Wales, 82% of the Welsh have been rated as bilingual by the age of twelve, but only 4% of the English. As in almost every place else, bilingualism is the burden of the minority¹³.

Leaving the British Isles for Western Europe, it is quite evident that we are in the birthplace of the centralized national states. France, Germany, and Italy have long pursued a policy of centralization and standardization as far as their language is concerned. None of these countries recognizes the principle of bilingual education and tolerates bilingual schools only on the linguistic frontiers. Here the policy is one of transitional bilingualism. Italy is not concerned to make any but the population of its borderlands bilingual. So that it is only in areas like Bolzano, Trieste, Gorizia, and the Aosta Valley we may find some examples of bilingual education.

One might expect to find a great deal of bilingual education in the officially bilingual countries of Europe. But this is certainly not the case. The bilingual policies of Switzerland and Belgium are not designed to promote bilingualism, but rather to protect the identity of the constituent groups. It is the same principle of territoriality which governs other national states. Although there are German cantons, French cantons and Italian cantons, all the schooling is done in the language of the canton. Even in the bilingual canton of Fribourg there is a territorial division. The main concession to national bilingualism is that students are obliged to begin the study of an official second language at the age of eleven. The principle of territoriality is also applied in Belgium, but the country is divided by a linguistic frontier running across the middle. The problems of bilingualism are concentrated along this linguistic frontier, which runs near the capital. In recent years there has been a movement to separate the linguistic groups, as a result of severe linguistic conflict and language riots. The University of Louvain was separated into two distinct universities, one French and the other Flemish, one of the universities being forced to move further into the linguistic area to which it belonged. Only in tiny Luxembourg do we find a policy of permanent bilingualism encouraged by official educational policy.

If we now go on to Central Europe, we find that, although most countries have centralized or unilingual educational policies, many have important language minorities. This is partly the result of the application of the principles of national self-determination, on the basis of which the signers of the Treaty of Versailles allegedly re-made the map of Europe after the First World War. The leftovers, however, have created a few troublesome multilingual and multinational societies. Most notable examples are Czechoslovakia

and Yugoslavia. In Czechoslovakia, various considerations -- economic, cultural and political -- have induced the expression of strong nationalistic feelings during the last two centuries; conflicts even occurred within individual families, where the two parents might belong to different national and linguistic communities. There is a long history of conflict between the Czechs and the Slovaks. The degree of bilingualism depends on the area. Where a language is accorded official status, the children's attainment in that language is likely to be higher than in a language which is ignored officially or actively discouraged. Knowledge of the second, official language possessed by children of fifteen in linguistically mixed areas is said not to differ greatly from their knowledge of their mother tongue. Where, however, the currency of the official language is somewhat limited, and in addition, the two languages which the children speak differ considerably, as in the case of those areas of Czechoslovakia which are densely populated by Hungarians, the knowledge of the official language is limited. In Czechoslovakia, bilingualism does not count for a great deal among the farming communities; but the knowledge of the official language is always an advantage in large industrial plants. The more skilled and technical the occupation, the greater the need for bilingualism: consequently financial incentives are offered to bilingual persons by some industrial establishments¹⁴.

Yugoslavia is really a federation of national states consisting of Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Macedonians and Montenegrans. But in every constituent republic there are linguistic minorities of various sizes -- Albanians, Hungarians, Turks, Slovaks, Germans, Rumanians, Bulgarians, Czechs, Italians, and other miscellaneous groups. Out of a total population of eighteen million, over two million belong to these minorities. But the various languages are limited nationally, and the minorities are concentrated along the boundary of a particular republic or in large industrial cities¹⁵. Since the end of the Second World War, there has been a movement away from separate-medium, toward dual-medium schools. Before 1950, minority groups in any national republic attended separate-medium schools. Since then, however, the system of education provides, in nationally mixed linguistic territories, four bilingual schools attended by children of minority and majority linguistic groups alike. Consequently there are, first "Common Type Schools" where the majority language is the medium, second "Minority Type Schools" with the minority language as the medium, and third "Bilingual Schools" where instruction for all pupils is given in both languages. For example, in one district, the Muraka Sabota district, where the Hungarian minority lives, there are ten bilingual schools where in varying degrees, according to the circumstances of the school, the instruction of the pupils is conducted in Hungarian and Slovene. In five other schools, Hungarian is the predominant language of instruction with some uses made of Slovene. Of the 2,500 children attending such schools in 1960, nearly half were being given bilingual instruc-

tion, and the number was increasing progressively, as the policy was being implemented among older age groups¹⁴. The Yugoslav authorities, however, were having difficulties, arising largely from the shortage of bilingual teachers; but the policy was nevertheless adopted and it was pursued partly because it was felt that the merging of the two linguistic groups would render possible the more effective and economic use of the school premises and staff, but mainly because it was regarded as a means of insuring that the linguistic majority would be able to acquaint itself with the language and culture of the minority in a direct and natural fashion, thus insuring in turn that bilingualism would not be an exclusive characteristic of the minority¹⁴. This is one of the most interesting examples of a policy oriented toward transfer of medium of instruction. In the rest of the Balkans, although there are numerous small language minority groups, we find nothing comparable.

In the Middle-East, although Arabic is the dominant language, one country stands out as exceptional in its problems of bilingual education. The bilingual situation in Israel was created almost within our own time, largely because of factors which are in a sense historical and engineered, including immigration on a very large scale. Official bilingualism is regarded as a transitional phenomenon leading from a diversity of immigrant languages to a general knowledge of the national tongue. The remarkable success of the use of Hebrew in Israel can be contrasted with the results of bilingual education in Ireland.

In the rest of the Middle-East and indeed North Africa, Arabic is dominant and this dominance is spreading down into the Sudan where Arabic is gradually becoming the medium of instruction, even in the early grades. There is also evidence of irredentism in the language policy of Ethiopia, where Amharic is gradually replacing English as a medium of instruction. In the late 1960's, the Ministry of Education replaced English by Amharic as a medium of instruction in elementary schools up to and including the sixth grade. Its policy has been to attempt to replace English in the secondary schools as well. But this movement is hampered by the lack of trained manpower, the poverty of teaching materials and textbooks, and the inadequacy of the Amharic vocabulary for the teaching of science subjects.

It is in Africa South of the Sahara, however, that the problems of bilingual education are the most urgent. Here English or French are often the only media used for secondary education. In many areas, these are also the media of primary education. The origins of this situation are not only historical -- the influence of former colonial powers, but also demographic and linguistic -- the enormous number and variety of languages spoken in Africa, often by comparatively small groups. There are, for example, some sixteen indigenous languages in Sierra Leone, some fifty in Ghana, one hun-

dred in Tanganika and more than a hundred and fifty in Nigeria. Moreover, such African languages of wider communication which do exist -- as for example, Hausa and Swahili -- possess at present very limited written resources. They are widely used, often only in their spoken form⁸.

"The dominant European second languages have in fact become languages of national unity in many states. In Africa, unlike Asia, only rarely has an indigenous language been designated as a national or even more rarely as an official language. Exceptions are the designation of Swahili as the national language of Tanzania, Arabic as the declared national language of Mauritania, while French remains an official language, and the use of Malagasy in Madagascar, together with French. In one African state, Cameroun, both English and French are official languages, and there is now a policy providing bilingual education in two second languages⁸."

If we proceed further south in our trip through Africa, we will find, ironically enough that few countries can surpass South Africa in the amount and quality of research devoted to the problems of bilingual education. In fact, it is in South Africa where there has been proportionately the greatest percentage of bilingual education. Today, about 60% of the 3 million people of European origin speak mostly Afrikaans at home and 40% speak English. About half-a-century ago, the percentage who could speak both English and Afrikaans was 40%. Today it is over 80%. It can be assumed, even though the regulations differ somewhat in the four provinces, that the children of this population are taught both official languages, English and Afrikaans, as subjects. All indigenous African pupils are taught their vernacular language as well as at least one of the official European languages. The child begins to learn his first language as a subject right from the start. But as to when and how a beginning should be made with the study of the second language or subject, this becomes a question of educational method.

According to the best educational theory in South Africa today, both official languages should be taught to pupils as subjects right from the beginning. With the following important provisions: 1) The child must hear the second language first and learn to speak it, then to read and to write it. 2) The young child must under no circumstances learn to read or write the second language until he can do so in the first language. This is a necessary provision, particularly where the one language is phonetic (for example Afrikaans), and the other, English, is not phonetic in its spelling. 3) It does not matter how early in school-life a child starts with the second language, provided that it follows the mode of acquisition of the first language in learning it. This is best achieved in free association with children who speak the second language. And failing the presence of such children, the second language should be introduced conversationally through games and other in-

teresting experiences of intrinsically educational value to the child, for example, simple stories from the field of history, geography, and nature study.

Used in this way, the language lesson whether it is the first or the second language, becomes an auxiliary to the other subjects, instead of being something sterile by itself. Too often, however, these language lessons which occur once a day on the time-table are occupied with little that is relevant, as far as the content of the language exercises is concerned.

Many experienced teachers find that the time allotted to any one of the two languages or subjects is really too little for them to ensure proficiency in the use of the language, particularly in its spoken form. Every lesson is therefore considered as a language lesson in the sense that the teacher insists on every child using good, clear forms of expression when he speaks about that subject¹⁴.

"In South Africa, the child must be taught, at least up to the end of the primary school, through the medium of the home language, that is, the language that the child understands the best. This is determined by the school inspector. Only in the Province of Natal does the parent have a choice in the matter. The second language may be introduced as an additional medium beyond the primary stage. In Natal this may be done earlier. In order to give effect to these regulations, three types of bilingual schools have been instituted.

"In the single medium school, the children with Afrikaans and English home languages respectively are segregated into separate schools, even though they live in the same community. Thus, only one medium of instruction is used throughout the school, the teacher, teaching the second language as a subject. The majority of schools in the larger towns and cities are of this type. This type of school organization has led to the artificial segregation of children into two distinct groups, even where they come from homes in communities where both English and Afrikaans are currently spoken. This not only deprives children in the school of the benefit of associating in the playground with children of the other language group -- thus diminishing the opportunity of hearing and using the second language -- but also has important social and political consequences. For by accentuating language differences, it has given a set-back to the process of developing a corporate national feeling of South Africanism among the younger generation. A logical consequence of the single medium types of school organization has been in fact that there are now four English medium universities and four Afrikaans medium universities in South Africa¹⁴."

"In the parallel school, Afrikaans and English home language children go to the same school, but are taught in separate classes.

The only time they will hear the second language spoken is in the language lesson and on the playground¹⁴."

"The dual medium school takes several forms in practice:

- a) where some subjects are taught through Afrikaans and others through English medium to the same classes;
- b) where both media are used alternatively;
- c) in the same lesson, by repeating completely or partially in the one language what has been said in the other. Or of doing this on successive days of the week. This situation is feasible only when the teacher is fully bilingual. There are also schools in which both parallel classes and the dual medium system are used, but these are schools where the first may be used in the lower classes and the second in the upper classes. These types are called bilingual schools¹⁴."

After having reached the tip of the African continent, we now cross over to the Americas where we find an entirely different situation. In the entire hemisphere we have only two completely dominant languages, namely English and Spanish; and two regionally dominant languages, namely French and Portuguese. These four languages at one time or another have been superimposed on indigenous and immigrant populations speaking a few hundred different languages. In Mexico alone, there are some fifty Indian languages, a large population of varying degrees of bilingualism, and more than a million Indians who speak no Spanish and who sometimes understand little of the Indian language spoken in the nearby village. In many countries of Latin America, the great struggle has been the achievement of literacy, and this meant the learning of Spanish. One quarter of the budget may go to education, since almost 32% of the adult population may be still not literate.

Few countries in the Americas are officially bilingual. Notable exceptions are Canada and Paraguay. A study of national bilingualism in Paraguay shows the extent to which an Amerindian language can be used in an official capacity¹⁶. On official bilingualism in Canada, there is the twelve-volume, official report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism; one of these volumes is devoted exclusively to the problems of education¹⁷.

Although Canada has officially been recognized for more than a century as a bilingual country, public bilingual education is a recent innovation, and this has come after a century of struggle on the part of French-language minorities in Western Canada and Ontario.

These minorities were admittedly isolated from the mass of five million French speakers in Quebec. In the western part of this province, however, particularly in Montreal, where a half a million speakers of English share the city with more than a million speakers of French, one would have imagined that bilingual schooling would be the usual formula for public instruction. But this was far from being the case; in fact, there has always been strict segregation, not only along language but also along religious lines.

As a result, the French of English-speaking Montrealers, according to an outside study commissioned by the Federal Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism in the late 1960's, was no better than the American norms for students with two years of high-school French.

Pressure from the English-speaking parents, however, has brought about changes since the mid-1960's. Unable to change the educational system of distribution of English and French speakers, the English-speaking parents initiated a number of experimental schools in which French rather than English would be used exclusively as a medium of instruction in schools where the home language of all the pupils was English. Some of these programs began in kindergarten and continued into secondary school¹⁸. Others began at the fourth grade, and a majority at the seventh grade. The latter formula, called "Grade Seven Immersion" was being applied in 1972 to a school population of some 1,500 in Greater Montreal.

In the Atlantic provinces there is a long history of struggle by the Acadian population for their own schools¹⁹. Although these people are traditionally bilingual, they have run the gamut, over the years, from unilingual English to bilingual to unilingual French schools. In the 1960's they won a separate charter for their own French-language university.

In the United States the few bilingual ethnic public schools of the 19th century disappeared in the wave of nationalism propagated in the First World War, and even the learning of foreign languages in school was given the lowest priority during the subsequent decades of American isolationism²⁰. The melting-pot mentality put a stigma on immigrant bilingualism.

There was indeed a rude awakening, however, in the 1940's when the U.S. commitment in the Second World War resulted in the stationing of American troops in all quarters of the globe and an incapacity to communicate with the population with whom they came into contact. As a result, a special training program had to be instituted by the American army (the ASTP) to give intensive full-time language training to thousands of selected military personnel. Many more thousands who had traveled to foreign lands brought back a request for foreign languages, which helped change the pre-war disregard for foreign languages and their speakers. Like tourists

returning from abroad, they had to experience the language barrier in order to believe it. During this period, I was conducting language training sessions on board Atlantic and other sailings. We offered French, German and Spanish shipboard language classes; and significantly enough, these were better attended on the way back from Europe than on the way there²¹.

But it took the shock of the first space ship - the Soviet Sputnik - to transfer the mastery of foreign languages from a desirable personal attainment to a matter of urgent national necessity. Suddenly, millions realized that they were not informed on what had been going on in lands which they had long thought of as backward. I was struck by this during the week when the first Sputnik appeared, for I was then lecturing at the Carnegie Peace Center in New York. Not far from the building I noticed an old delivery truck parked on a side street; it bore the following hastily printed inscription in giant letters: "What ever happened to all those backward Russians."

Raising foreign languages to a matter of national interest put the learning of them into an entirely new perspective. The importance given them in the National Defence Education Act of 1958 put the language teaching profession into a new position of prestige. It was observed, however, that it was competent speakers of foreign languages that the nation needed. During the decade, binational institutes and binational schools were being encouraged and supported by the American Department of State - even by American military missions²². It was foolish to spend all that effort on teaching adults when thousand of children had already mastered the essentials in their own homes. If languages had become a national resource, why neglect those which already existed. To this argument was joined another plea from an entirely different quarter. It was agreed that it was the human resources, the educational potential of millions of ethnic children that was being wasted, because all schooling was done in an unfamiliar language called English²³.

From still another quarter came a needed impetus. Thousands of Cuban refugees, most of them well-educated, were fleeing the Castro revolution in their country and seeking temporary refuge in the United States. They had no intention of giving up their culture, although they did need to know English to function in their new surroundings. For their children, a bilingual elementary school, with half of the children from English speaking homes, was created in Miami (Coral Gables) in 1963. The following year two bilingual public schools were founded in Texas, one in Laredo (Webb County) and another in San Antonio, these for established minorities. From that time until 1968, about two dozen locally initiated bilingual programs were started in the South West, more than a dozen of which were initiated in Texas²³.

Not all of these schools had an easy time of it; in most cases it was regarded as a constant up-hill struggle. During these years, it became evident that local support was not enough. If these bilingual programs were indeed in the national interest, they were then worthy of federal support. It was in this context that the federal Bilingual Education Act became law in January 1968. The declaration of policy at the beginning of the Act reads as follows:

In recognition of the special educational needs of the large number of children of limited English-speaking ability in the United States, Congress hereby declares it to be the policy of the United States to provide financial assistance to local educational agencies to develop and carry out new and imaginative elementary and secondary school programs designed to meet these special educational needs. For the purposes of this title, "children of limited English-speaking ability" means children who come from environments where the dominant language is other than English.

Although the "need" was variously interpreted as one for more English instruction by some, and as one for mother-tongue instruction by others, the net result was the public support within the space of a few short years of some hundred and fifty (131 in 1971) bilingual education programs in 30 states and in Guam, involving school instruction in sixteen languages: Spanish (105), French (5), Navajo (5), Chinese (2), Cherokee (2) and one each for Russian, Japanese, Eskimo, Crow, Choctaw, Pomo, Ute, and Keresan²⁴.

Not all these bilingual education programs, however, have been equally successful. Contrast, for example, the one started in San Antonio in 1964 with its history of public indifference and shortage of adequately prepared teachers with the program inaugurated the same year in Laredo where public enthusiasm was so high that a unilingual control class could not be recruited for want of volunteers²⁴.

Not all followed the same formula. Some schools offered a certain number of minutes a day to subjects in the mother tongue - a sort of concession; others divided the curriculum and timetable equally between the two languages. And even these schools using this 50-50 formula differed widely in the way they applied it. For example, both the Laredo school and the Miami (Coral Gables) school applied it to a school population half of which had Spanish as a home language, and half having English as a home language. But while Laredo used the free alternation of bilingual teachers, the Coral Gables school functioned in the mother tongue for half the day with native teachers (English or Spanish speaking, as the case

may be), using the same teachers for the second half of the day to repeat the subject in the second language of the group.

Some of the factors involved in the success or failure of bilingual and bicultural programs seem to have much to do with the motivation of local authorities, the degree of public support, the attitudes of parents and the comparability of the resources.

The status accorded the other language is also a factor. For example, in the U.S. and Canada there have been times where a high status was accorded English; whereas the other tongue was simply tolerated. In this case the bilingual program had no cultural or bicultural element; it was simply another language program. In some areas, it meant simply the political victory of an ethnic pressure group rather than the general belief of an entire population.

The success or failure of bicultural education cannot depend exclusively on what happens in the school. It also depends on the effects of past cultural contact and on the legacy of cultural attitudes. Unlike language, most other cultural components are not indifferent to value judgments. The evaluation of such cultural components itself depends on a certain system of values. Some fields of knowledge may be more important to some cultures than they are to others. And in some of these areas of human endeavour -- fields like medicine, engineering and religion -- certain societies do better than others. In other words, what you can learn through one culture may be demonstrably more effective than what you can learn through another. And this has given rise to hidden value judgments in the semantics of culture contact. When, for example, we speak of "developing countries" we are often suggesting their backwardness or inferiority; the concept of "industrialized" connotes a certain superiority; and "aid" is associated with dominance, if not with domination.

The fact is that in the area of intercultural relations there is rarely equality; and the inequalities can be of many types. The immense vitality and economic dominance of Western civilization in this century has resulted in the quite unconscious Westernization of most countries -- much of it through the educational system. This supranational acculturation, coupled with the increasing cosmopolitanism of the West, has resulted in the greater cultural homogeneity of our modern world. And it is in this sense as well that one can speak of a bicultural education movement. In fact, today most countries have to some degree already become multicultural. And there are people who believe that this is not only a good thing but, in the form of a bilingual education, it constitutes one of the basic rights of man (See Appendix).

We know, however, that multiculturalism is a function of the duration, intensity and direction of the influence. Contact can kill a culture -- especially if that contact is intense, prolonged and unidirectional. That is why the much-maligned ethnic ghettos have so well succeeded in preserving minority cultures.

Some societies, however, especially those with ancient, deeply ingrained and stable cultural traditions have successfully resisted the unconscious Westernization of much of their value-system in a conscious retention of spiritual and behavioral traits, while at the same time deliberately accepting certain Western social and industrial systems. This has been the case with Japan in its espousal of Western business enterprise, with India in its retention of the British parliamentary system, and Egypt in its European industrial base.

In a few countries, nevertheless, Westernization has been heralded without such qualifications. Modern Turkey between 1920 and 1940 is an example. Here a rapid and most wide-ranging acculturation could be observed in changes to customs and institutions, and even to Western art forms, ranging from the ballet to the detective story.

In many parts of the world today Westernization has meant Americanization -- just as in the recent past it meant Anglicization or Gallicization. Each country, however, has made its own adaptation to the influences of British or French culture. In the Middle East, for example, French culture had different effects on different countries, and British culture bore different fruits when transplanted to various parts of Asia and Africa.

It is because of all this that bicultural education is likely to mean different things in different countries. In studying these differences we are faced with a choice between the necessary vagueness of possible generalization and the necessary narrowness of particular cases. To be on the safe side, it is the latter approach which we have chosen. The wisdom of our choice will hopefully be seen in the results of the case studies which we shall now discuss.

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Appendix

LE "DROIT DE L'HOMME A L'EDUCATION BILINGUE"

Exposé des motifs

Les droits de l'homme qui figurent dans la Déclaration universelle des Nations Unies ne sont contestés nulle part même si dans la pratique ils ne sont pas toujours respectés.

Cependant, on peut s'étonner de certaines lacunes de cette Déclaration notamment à l'article visant le droit à la libre circulation des hommes et des biens, qui n'est accompagné d'aucun moyen permettant la jouissance effective de ce droit: à quoi sert, cette libre circulation si les intéressés n'ont aucune possibilité de communiquer par le langage?

L'égalité des droits à sa culture nationale reconnue à tout homme est singulièrement amoindrie dans son application lorsqu'il s'agit de populations en voie de développement, lesquelles sont à la recherche de leur unité linguistique. L'égalité des droits à sa culture particulière, à l'intérieur d'une Nation, reconnus à tout homme souffre du même amoindrissement.

D'autre part, pendant les dernières décennies, des progrès importants dans l'enseignement des langues vivantes ont été accomplis, pour des raisons diverses: nécessité de la communication, obligation de réformer l'enseignement traditionnel, développement économique et culturel, avec les échanges qui en découlent.

Cependant, ces progrès paraissent encore insuffisants, et surtout très inégaux et dispersés, selon les besoins et ambitions individuels de chaque pays. Ce qu'ils ont en commun, c'est la durée exagérément longue nécessaire à leur application: le nombre d'heures consacrées à l'enseignement d'une langue vivante, temps jugé insuffisant - avec raison - par les professeurs, est considérable, pourtant, par rapport aux autres matières enseignées.

Par ces motifs, il a été jugé utile d'élaborer une méthode n'impliquant aucune perte de temps et qui serait le "parallélisme linguistique", pratiqué dès le plus jeune âge, ou "éducation bilingue".

Dès 1968, à l'occasion de l'Année Internationale des Droits de l'Homme, la Fédération Mondiale des Villes Jumelées-Cités Unies (FMVJ) a formulé un projet d'adjonction à la Déclaration Universelle des Droits de l'Homme, projet notamment approuvé par le Président de la République du Sénégal, M. Léopold Sédar Senghor.

Ce projet était le suivant:

Au bénéfice de la communauté humaine et de la compréhension entre les peuples, toute personne a droit à une éducation bilingue, à savoir:

- 1 - droit à la connaissance approfondie de la langue maternelle;
- 2 - droit à la connaissance utile d'une langue de communication mondiale, qui, par-delà la culture nationale qu'elle reçoit et doit recevoir, lui permettra de participer pleinement et directement à la culture mondiale et au dialogue universel.

Ce projet a été successivement approuvé par deux conférences internationales organisées par la Fédération Mondiale des Villes Jumelées-Cités Unies.

- la première à Royan (France), en avril 1968, qui bénéficiait des patronages de l'UNESCO et de plusieurs pays dont l'Autriche, la Belgique, la France, le Luxembourg, Malte, le Togo, la Yougoslavie;
- la seconde à Aoste (Italie), en mars 1972, qui était présidée par le Recteur de l'Académie de Paris représentant à sa qualité le Ministre français de l'Education Nationale.

En conséquence, la XVIIe Conférence générale de l'UNESCO

- 1 - affirme son attachement à ce droit fondamental tel qu'il est exprimé ci-dessus, ainsi que son désir de voir ce droit explicitement inscrit parmi les Droits de l'Homme;
- 2 - décide de soutenir l'action de la Fédération Mondiale des Villes Jumelées-Cités Unies dans ce domaine, notamment la création actuellement en cours à Aoste (Italie), avec l'appui du Gouvernement Régional de la Vallée d'Aoste, d'un Centre Mondial d'Informations sur l'éducation bilingue.